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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

Richard J. Kerr

Deputy Director for Intelligence

SUBJECT:

State Department Comment on DI Intelligence Assessment, Reform in the Soviet Psychiatric Sector: Foxes Restructuring the Henhouse

- 1. Assistant Secretary Schifter makes a reasonable argument that there has been more movement in Soviet psychiatric reform, and thus a greater consensus within the leadership on the reform than our paper reflects, apparently based on comments by Soviet officials during the last two years. Given the Secretary's position, these officials understandably would want to put the best face on reform efforts. While the data in this area are limited, fragmentary and sometimes conflicting, the author of our paper believes she used a broader base of sources over a longer period of time to reach her conclusions.
- 2. Our author also used the results of the research of a colleague, who looked at the key players in the Soviet legal system. That research indicated that there have been and, despite recent leadership changes, there still are differences over the scope and pace of legal reform--differences that start at the top and continue down through the system. This leads to sporadic instances both of improvement and resistance. Gorbachev's strong interest in legal reform, however, has led to changes in several key players. Based on correlations between this research and her own--as well as the continued presence in their positions of power of three top Soviet psychiatrists so closely identified with past abuses, as well as their immediate superiors--our analyst concluded that progress to date in psychiatric reform was limited.
- 3. Secretary Schifter's memorandum also points out an age-old problem. Our analyst did not have the information in the Secretary's memorandum on Dr. Roth's April visit to the Soviet Union. In fact, we doubt, based on a search of our own systems and a conversation with State, that the information has been previously disseminated. While this information would not

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SUBJECT: State Department Comment on DI Intelligence

Assessment, Reform in the Soviet Psychiatric Sector: Foxes Restructuring the Henhouse

	our basic judgments, it would have allowed us to
present a moi	re complete picture of Soviet actions and
statements.	
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	Richard J. Kerr

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SUBJECT: State Department Comment on DI Intelligence

- LDA/USSR/S&E

Assessment, Reform in the Soviet Psychiatric Sector: Foxes Restructuring the Henhouse

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE WASHINGTON

November 1, 1988

Dear Bill:

I sent your analysis on recent developments in Soviet psychiatry to Dick Schifter, who has been working on this problem. I enclose his comments for whatever interest they may hold for you and your analysts.

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

Enclosure:
As stated.

cc: General Colin Powell

The Honorable
William Webster
Director
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505

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Washington, D. C. 20520

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INFORMATION MEMORANDUM NATURAL SIS

October 28, 1988

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TO:

The Secretary

FROM:

HA - Richard Schifter

SUBJECT:

Soviet Psychiatry

Thank you for sending me the CIA analysis of recent developments in Soviet psychiatry. I concur in part and dissent in part.

I concur that the persons responsible in the past for the phenomenon which we have called "abuse of psychiatry" are still in office. I disagree with the conclusion, however, that that fact means, as suggested in the CIA analysis, that "psychiatric reform is a low priority for the Soviet leadership — or a goal on which there is no leadership consensus."

The way I read the developments regarding abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union is that the leadership decided in early 1987 to bring the practices to an end. We have not received any reports of improper commitments since then and believe that the Soviets were telling us the truth when they said they were reviewing all questionable psychiatric commitments and releasing those who had been improperly committed. Since the summer of 1987 Soviet officials have in discussions with me freely admitted that abuse of psychiatry has in the past existed.

Beginning in January of this year there have been significant reforms in the Soviet criminal code and in the administration of psychiatric hospitals, designed to prevent

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As in some other settings in Soviet life, the change in policy has in the case of psychiatry not been translated into changes in personnel. When I complained about that to one of our Soviet colleagues his answer was: "Sometimes it's easier to get rid of bureaucrats than of psychiatrists." My hunch is that the leaders of Soviet psychiatry remain under KGB protection and that makes it quite difficult to get them fired.

But we have seen evidence that the psychiatrists do follow their new instructions. For example, when I first raised the idea with the Soviets of a visit to the USSR by a representative of the American Psychiatric Association, Aleksey Glukhov said to me: "The APA would have to be invited by our own Association and they won't do it because they consider the APA responsible for the exclusion of the USSR from the World Psychiatric Association. So why don't we do it on a government-to-government basis and you bring along any psychiatrist you want?" We then did get the APA to name a psychiatrist (Dr. Loren Roth) and took him along to Moscow, where he made it clear that he was there for the American psychiatric profession.

Dr. Roth went to the Soviet Union last April with a set of conditions developed by the APA for any future U.S. psychiatric visit. The conditions were quite tough. When I showed them to our Soviet MFA contact, he said: "We are going to make sure they are accepted. Get Dr. Roth to present them to the people he sees. They will be properly instructed." Sure enough, when Dr. Roth met with the various well-known bad guys in Soviet psychiatry and showed them our conditions for a future visit, they simply went along. They were glum and unrepentant, but did not erect any obstacles.

My assumption at that time and since then has been that the MFA has coordinated our work in psychiatry with the Party

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Central Committee staff and the Central Committee has instructed the psychiatrists to cooperate with us. To some extent the reformers may even want to use us to lean on the Soviet psychiatric leadership. The MFA's eagerness to pursue psychiatric visits with us suggests just that.

Drafted:HA:RSchifter

10/28/88

CC: EUR/SOV:SVershbow

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